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A

DISSUASIVE

FROM

PARTY *and* RELIGIOUS

ANIMOSITIES.

CONTAINING,

I. An Account of the Progreſs and Effects of our *Religious Differences* from the Reign of *JAMES* I. to the Revolution; with Reflections on Them.

II. Reaſons againſt the *Repeal* of the CORPORATION and TEST ACTS: Shewing, That it is not conſiſtent with *Liberty* and our *Conſtitution.*

III. Remarks on the ANSWER to the *Country-Parſon's Plea:* In which, The Oppoſition of the CLERGY to the late *Tythe-Bill* is vindicated: And the great Preference of Deciſions by JURIES before Thoſe by JUSTICES, and the Danger ariſing to our Conſtitution from the large Encreaſe of Power of *Late Years*, added to the *Latter*, conſidered.

By the AUTHOR of,

The *Harmony* of *Reaſon* and *Chriſtianity.*

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A

DISSUASIVE

FROM

Party and Religious Animoſities.

AGREATER Misfortune can hardly attend any Nation, than a Diviſion of it's Members into *Parties*; but eſpecially into many Different and Oppoſite Sects and Perſuaſions in *Religion*.

WHEN Men herd themſelves in *Party*, they frequently forget their Duty to their *Country*, and miſtake the *Publick Good*; nay, very often they abandon their own *Reaſon* too, to follow an *Empty Name*, and thro' a blind Attachment to it, are led along by *One*, or, by a *Few*, Ambitious, Covetous, Revengeful or otherwiſe *Corrupt* Men, who have either the Cunning, or the Chance to erect themſelves into the *Head of a Party*, by Degrees, to violate perhaps, all the *Duties of Life*, when at their firſt ſetting out they would have been extremely ſhock'd at the Thoughts of forfeiting their *Integrity*, ſo much as in one ſingle Inſtance; ſo dangerous is it to *Good Conſcience* for Men to give up themſelves to *Party-Guides!*

BUT when *Religion* is once introduced and mingled with it, and perhaps, the very Denominations of different Religious Societies become the *Cue's* and *Badges* of *Party*; Then *Party-Zeal*, which ever forgets the Publick Good, to mind only its own Imaginary Phantom, grows formidable and terrible indeed, to the True *National Intereſt*; becauſe *Zeal for Religion* is, in this Caſe, mixed with it; which is the only Way

to entail the Curſe of *Parties* and *Party-Animoſities* from Generation to Generation, and to carry Men to the moſt extravagant Lengths; to which *Religious Zealots* of all Sorts, are always obſerved to be the apteſt of any living, to hurry themſelves and others, through a pretended, tho' falſe, *Love of Religion*, as by a moſt impetuous and irreſiſtible Torrent.

POLITICIANS full of Craftineſs and Deſign, but who for all that, know as little what the *Iſſue* of their *Craft* will be, as the ſimpleſt Peaſant they deceive; would do well to conſider, *Firſt*, What *Religion* is: And, *Secondly*, What is it They do, when they lugg it in, to aſſiſt them to carry on their *Schemes of State!*

RELIGION *is the Duty which* MAN *owes to* GOD; *and which* GOD *requires from* MAN.——The Performance of this Duty conſiſts in an *Inward Converſion of our* Mind *to* GOD; and in an *Outward Behaviour of the* MAN, *Decent, and agreeable with a* SOUL *whoſe Affections are ſo Divinely ſet.*——But alas! How is this Great Duty of Religion performed, and the End of it, which is *infinite Happineſs*, obtained, by turning Men's Fondneſs for their own particular Manner, or *Outward Form* of doing this Duty in, into Cauſes of Party-Diſtinctions; and by Degrees working up the little *Religious Diſcords*, which perhaps do not affect the *Eſſence* of that Duty, into Diviſions and Animoſities which lacerate our Country, and riſque or ruin the National Peace. Surely, This is perverting *Religion*, to bring about Events, which are inconſiſtent with our Performance of it; It is *doing Violence* to it, as it turns That which can be performed only in *Stillneſs* and *Peace of Mind*, and in a *Decent and Orderly Manner*, into a Source of Noiſe and Tumult, of Rage and Madneſs.——I wonder, *Rational Men* do not conſider, that GOD to whom *Religion* relates, is an *All-perfect Being*; That in thus perverting Men's Minds to Rage and Diſcord, They turn them from doing this *Great Duty*, and thereby deprive the *Almighty* of the WORSHIP due unto *Him*; who can in an Inſtant turn their long-concerted and laborious Schemes to the *Confuſion* of the *Contrivers!*

No Nation, I believe, has ſuffered more from Animoſities that aroſe from *Party* and *Religious Diſcords*, than This wherein we live. Almoſt the whole *Laſt Century* was one continued Scene of the manifold Woes which, as Rivulets from their Fountains, ſpring forth from theſe Grand Cauſes of *Evil*.

IN their Beginning, kindled and fomented by the weak Conduct of *James* I. who knew nothing leſs than how to Govern

a People, by *Nature*, and by *Birth-right*, FREE; and who, with all the *Juſtice* and *Reaſon* in the World, were reſolved to tranſmit that moſt valuable Bleſſing to *Poſterity*, which had been derived on Them, as the moſt Glorious Part of their Inheritance from their *Worthy Anceſtors:* But a People whoſe Misfortune it was to have the Seeds of *Religious Schiſms* ſown amongſt Them before: This Unhappy Prince, alas! by taking it into his Head to govern them in ſuch a Manner as is inconſiſtent with our *Antient Conſtitution*, and deſtructive of his *People's Liberties*, alienated the Hearts of his *People* from Him; and then, as weakly thinking to ſecure Himſelf without altering his Conduct, He ſnatches the Advantage of the *Schiſms* in the Church; joins to the Few *Diſſenters*, the infinitely greater Number who were Diſaffected on account of his Arbitrary and Unconſtitutional Method of Government; calls them by one common Name, of *Puritans*; and ſo created *Parties* in the Nation, encreaſed the *Schiſms* in the Church, and raiſed *Her* up *Enemies*, by calling Men ſo, and treating them as ſuch.

His Son, *Charles* I. was a Prince of ſeveral Excellent and Rare Virtues; but the Benefit which this Nation might otherwiſe have received from them, was hindred, either by the Prejudices of Education, almoſt unavoidably imbibed under ſuch a *Father*, againſt the *Conſtitution* and the *Liberties* of his Subjects, and againſt the *Puritan* Faction, as it was called; or, by the Arbitrary and Miſchievous Meaſures of his *Miniſters*, by whom it was His, and his People's Misfortune, that He was almoſt always Incloſed and Miſled. Monſ. *Rapin* hath made the following Admirable Remark on *This*, and the *Laſt* Reign; which, as it is written with a Spirit very proper to conciliate and unite the Affections of *Diſſenters* to the *Church*; and teaches them *certain Diſtinctions*, without making which, they may be apt *ſometimes* to imbibe Prejudices againſt Her, and impute to Her *Sins* or *Errors*, which ſhe no leſs abhors and diſowns than They do: And beſides, confirms the Truth of what I have juſt now advanced; We will beg Leave to preſent to our Readers.

" I HAVE already obſerved, (ſays * *Rapin*) that *Preſbyte-*
" *rianiſm*, or, as it was then called, *Puritaniſm*, daily gained
" Ground, notwithſtanding the Endeavours uſed by the King,
" Biſhops, High-Commiſſion, Star-Chamber, and Courts
" of Juſtice, to ſtop its Progreſs. As theſe Endeavours con-
" ſiſted not in better informing the Preſbyterians, but only in
" the exceſſive Severities exerciſed upon them, when their
" Zeal

* See *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, Vol. II. Book xix. Page 287.

" Zeal caused them to offend; they were the more exaspera-
" ted against the *Church of England*, as they saw at the same
" time, that the Arminians and Papists were left unmolested,
" or if Orders were sometimes given against them, such Or-
" ders were never executed. This made them exclaim against
" the Bishops, and charge them with Design to introduce
" *Popery* and *Arminianism* into the Church. Unhappily,
" They imputed to the *whole Church of England*, the Vio-
" lences which ought to have been ascribed to the Circum-
" stances of the Times, and to the Particular Character of
" *some Bishops*, who having Credit at Court, intimated to
" the King, that nothing was more opposite to Regal Au-
" thority, than Presbyterian Church-Government. All who
" were not very submissive to the King, were considered as
" *Puritans*, and as *such*, frequently oppressed. So, by a fa-
" tal Policy, Men well-affected to the *Church of England*,
" but Enemies to Arbitrary Power, were forced against their
" Wills, to join with the Puritans, in order to strengthen
" their Party, and enable them to oppose the Designs of the
" Court. I am persuaded, this Conduct gave *Puritanism*
" many Adherents, which otherwise it would never have had.
" What makes me of this Opinion, is, that Presbyterianism
" never made so great a Progress as during the first Fifteen
" Year of this Reign, tho' it had never been more persecuted.
" After all, this Conduct is not to be ascribed to the *Church of*
" *England*. We don't find in her Principles and Doctrines,
" any thing repugnant to Charity, or tending to Violence;
" but it was wholly owing to the Character and Designs of the
" *Court-Prelates*, of the King's *Ministers* and *Counsellors*,
" who meant to carry the Royal Authority to the Highest
" Degree. They thought nothing would more conduce to
" that End, than the Humbling, or, rather the utter Ruin of
" the *Puritans*, and unfortunately considered as such, all that
" opposed their Design, according to King *James*'s Maxim.
" Hence it happen'd, that by confounding thus the *State-*
" *Puritans*, with the *Church-Puritans*, they compelled, as I
" may say, the First to join with the Last."——But to re-
turn to our Remarks.

In the Time of *Charles* I. were the Sins of this Nation grown ripe for Punishment: And in the *Son*'s Reign did that dark Cloud of Miseries burst upon Her, which had been gathering all the *Father*'s. The *Unhappy King* was soon reduced to yield up almost every thing to the Pleasure of his *Parliament*; not only his *Favourite Ministers* who had misled Him, and oppress'd his People, and therefore, in Justice, deserved a

Punishment

Punishment adequate to their Crimes: but was brought even to abandon the Necessary and Constitutional Power of the *Crown*. This He did, by giving his Assent to that pernicious *Bill*, which took from Himself the Power to Dissolve that *Parliament*, without the Consent of the *Two Houses*, of LORDS and COMMONS: I am sensible, there was a Necessity of putting it out of the King's Power to Dissolve this *Parliament*, as He had done others, before the *Constitution was Secured*, and the *National Grievances Redressed*: But then, surely, a limited Time of *Two*, *Three*, or *Four* Years, would have answered every *Good End* that could be proposed by that *Act*; and as, for Want of such a *Limitation*, the Parliament opposed the *Unconstitutional Power* of the Crown, by as *Unconstitutional a Power* in Themselves; that is, in the Language of our Constitution, opposed *Injustice* to *Injustice*, and *Faction* to *Faction*: So, the Effect of this *Power* in the Parliament, grew in a little Time, to be as Arbitrary and Oppressive to the *People*, as the *Power* of the Crown had formerly been.

When the King was thus *brought low*, the Patriots of that Time had then an Opportunity of restoring our Constitution to its Primitive Purity and Soundness; nay, They might have *improved*, and even have *perfected* it, had they had *Integrity* and *sound Wisdom*, (Terms which I hope our Readers will pardon) to have known when Matters were brought to a proper Crisis, to set *Things Right*, and to keep them so. The *Friends of Liberty* have never since had the like favourable Conjuncture to Restore and Perfect our Constitution, but *Twice*; which were, at the RESTORATION, and the REVOLUTION: And alas! *These* were also neglected. Which would almost make one imagine, some *Evil Spirit* envying this Nation, and unwilling to behold Her ever *securely Free*, or thoroughly *Happy*; mingling Himself with our Counsels, had infatuated the Understandings of our *Wise-Men*, and made Them mistake the *Goal of Liberty* they had been contending for, when they had run the Course, and had it in their Power to lay their Hands on the Prize.

As this *Parliament* owed its being called, to the *Covenant* in Scotland, and to the Distresses which it brought upon the King; so, its Members were sensible they owed its Continuance to the *Scots Army*'s coming into England, and to the Continuance of the same *Distresses*. This made it necessary for the Parliament to court the *Scots*; and instead of enabling the King to drive them out, which was the sole End, He called them for; Their Business was to encourage and enable them to keep

keep here, 'till the *National Grievances* were redreſſed: which was effectually done. But then, the *Scots* ought to have had no farther Views than to have ſettled and ſecured their Religion in their own Country, and not have meddled with the *Church of England*, which was ſettled on another Bottom. It was not *Dealing by others, as They would be Dealt by Themſelves:* Which is a Law much more plain and evident to the Reaſon and Conſcience of Man, than the Neceſſity of any of thoſe *Trifling Differences*, which have always been ſuch mighty Obſtacles to UNION among *Proteſtants*.——Nor, ought the *Parliament of England*, in my poor Opinion, to have proceeded as They did: To the Excluſion of the *Biſhops*; To the Abolition of *Epiſcopacy*; and in fine, of the *Book of Common-Prayer*; and to the Deſtruction of the *Church* itſelf. Theſe *Violent* Remedies were going too far, when *Milder* ones would have done the Buſineſs more effectually, more conſiſtent with *Juſtice*, *Sound Policy*, and with the *National Good*.

FOR, had They looked into the True Cauſe of all thoſe Complaints which were ſo loudly and juſtly made againſt *ſome Biſhops*, and others of the *Church*; They would have found that it was not the *Church of England*, nor her *Doctrines*, or *Forms of Worſhip*; no, nor even *Epiſcopacy* itſelf, as odious as it was become to *ſome People*; nor yet, the Sitting of the *Biſhops* in the *Houſe of* LORDS, as inconſiſtent with *Liberty*, or with their Diſcharge of the *Epiſcopal Function*, as it was repreſented: I ſay, had the Thing been conſidered *Calmly*, the Fault would have been diſcovered, not to have lain in either of Theſe, nor in all of Them; but ſolely, in the *Power of the Crown to make Biſhops, and to Tranſlate them from one* See *to another*. Had the *Parliament* left the other Points, and ſtuck only at This; as the *King* could not have pretended, that *Biſhopricks* at their Primitive Inſtitution, were at the Diſpoſal of *Temporal Princes*, as He urged with good Reaſon, that the *Order of Biſhops* was *Apoſtolical*; They probably would have carried their Point. And had the *Choice of Biſhops* been then put into proper Hands, as near as the Circumſtances of the Nation would permit, like the *Apoſtolick* and *Primitive* Times; They would hereby have done a Thing of the greateſt and moſt laſting Service, both, to the *Nation* and *Church* of England; becauſe, it would have been the moſt effectual Means to have made *Churchmen* ever concur with the *Intereſt of the Nation*, and alſo, to reconcile *Diſſenters* to the *Church*.

THIS, as I have ſaid, would have been more conſiſtent with *Juſtice*; becauſe, it is neither Juſt to puniſh *a Whole Order* of Men, for the Iniquity of a *Few* of its Members: Nor,

Nor, even ſuppoſing the Generality to be Corrupt, is it juſt to aboliſh it, when conſidered by itſelf, it is *Uſeful* and *Apoſtolical*. The only proper Way of Procedure in this Caſe, is, To deprive Thoſe of their *Places*, who by abuſing them, have ſhewn themſelves *Unworthy* to poſſeſs them; To puniſh every one according to his *Crime*; and to ſearch into the *True Cauſes* of the Corruption complained of, and to apply *Proper Remedies*.——It would have been more conſiſtent with *Sound Policy*, and with the *National Good*; becauſe, it would have kept the *Friends of Liberty* UNITED; whereas, *This* was the Way to DISUNITE them, as it effectually did; and drove away great Numbers of Members from the *Parliament*; Men of the greateſt *Integrity*, *Lovers of their Country*, and the moſt ſtrenuous *Advocates for Liberty*: For Men can never be attacked in a more Tender Point, than in their *Religion*; and This it was, that raiſed *Charles* I. ſo many Friends, as enabled Him almoſt to overturn all the *Parliament*'s Meaſures.—— This ought to teach *Lovers of their Country*, always to practice *Two Things*; *Firſt*, "Carefully to avoid fomenting or "encouraging *Religious* Differences and Animoſities amongſt "*Proteſtants*, in order to gain their *Point*."——*Secondly*, "To purſue *it* with Moderation and Prudence, To inſiſt on "nothing but what is plainly *Juſt* and *Reaſonable*; Not to "attempt to do all at once, and think to make greater Pro- "greſs than Circumſtances will bear, leſt by too great and "unſeaſonable Zeal they ſhould ſpoil all."

BUT contrary to This; The *Diſſenters* were now, more violently bent upon the Extirpation of the *Church*, than ever *Churchmen* had been ſet formerly againſt the *Puritans*. Alas! by this Means, the good Opportunity which now offered itſelf for the Reſtoring and Perfecting our *Conſtitution* was Unhappily loſt; and with it, our Conſtitution itſelf, our Liberties, and even our Country too; which ſoon became the Prey of a Bloody *Civil War*, that was carried on with *Party-Zeal*, and *Enthuſiaſm*. Two Things, which always blind Men's Minds, ſo as not only, not to ſuffer us to ſee what will render us *Free* and *Happy*; but make us place our *Happineſs* and *Liberty* where they are Not, cannot be found, and purſue the imaginary Means of them, with the greateſt Obſtinacy, and the moſt fond and fooliſh Attachment to our own Conceits.——This then, was the Effect of *Party-Zeal*, and of *Religious Feuds* in the late *Civil War*: The *Two Houſes*, when they got the Upper-Hand, acted as contrary to our *Conſtitution*, and as *Arbitrarily* as ever the *King* or his *Miniſters* had done before: Nay, not only the *Houſe of Commons* by itſelf did ſo, but a

ſmall Number of its Members, after they had by Force excluded the others.

MANY ſtrange and unforeſeen Revolutions in thoſe Times, evince the Truth of what we have ſaid above; (viz.) That the moſt Crafty and Deſigning *Politicians*, frequently know as little what the Event of their Schemes will be, as the moſt ignorant *Countryman*. And how can it be otherwiſe, when Men make a Tool of *Religion*, and forſake *Juſtice*, *Virtue* and *Liberty*, which alone can imbue their Minds with *Solid Wiſdom*, and by affording juſt and reaſonable Rules for Them to govern their Conduct by, make a *Sound Stateſman?* When This is the Caſe, nothing more becomes an All-juſt, Powerful and Wiſe GOD, than to convince Men who truſt in their own *Wiſdom* and *Strength*, of their Extreme *Folly* and *Weakneſs!* And ſo it happened Now:

FOR, The *Parliament*, by the *Power* it had uſurp'd, and by the *Great Offices* and *Lucrative Employs* which its Members took Care to keep to themſelves, made their *Private Intereſt* inconſiſtent with the *National*; and juſtly raiſed a Publick Outcry againſt their Private Corruptions. CROMWELL, more adroit than They at *Political Craft*, cunningly took Advantage of This: The *Self-denying Ordinance* was propoſed; and altho' the Parliament plainly ſaw the Drift of the *Propoſers*, and what would be the Conſequence of their Paſſing it; yet, as * *Rapin* rightly obſerves, *They were attacked on their Weak Side:* They could vindicate Themſelves only by paſſing the *Ordinance*, by which They gave up their *Offices*, whilſt *Cromwell* took Care to keep His; who having now got the *Army* at his Devotion, ſoon made Uſe of it, to put an End to their *Arbitrary Power*, and to Eſtabliſh it in Himſelf.

I NEED ſay nothing of *Cromwell*'s Government, which was ſuch as ſhewed, He leſs wanted *Princely Virtues* to Govern, than He had a *juſt Title* to the Power He poſſeſſed; nor of the Uneaſineſs of the *Preſbyterians* under it, becauſe tho' He let their *Religion* be uppermoſt, yet would not ſo far comply with their Zeal for it, as to deny Thoſe of *other Perſuaſions* the Practice of Their's. Such Uneaſineſſes are natural, and too common, when the pretended *Religious*, inſtead of *Turning their Mind with all Her Affections to GOD, and Worſhipping Him in Peace and Calmneſs of Soul*; ſet their Hearts chiefly on joining the *Civil Power* to their particular *Perſuaſion*; place the Glory of a *Church* in its Members being the moſt Powerful Men in the *State*, and fooliſhly meaſure Men's

* Vol. II. Book 21.

Men's *Piety*, *Love of Country*, or *Friendſhip*, in Proportion as they agree or diſagree with them in theſe Things. Whereby they plainly ſhew, that notwithſtanding their mighty Pretences to *Religion*, They know nothing of its *True Nature*.

After *Cromwell*'s Death, the *Preſbyterians* having been diſappointed of their fond Expectations of Power, began to grow *Wiſer*; and the Nation in general, tired of the Intervals of *Anarchy* and *Deſpotiſm*, and of the many Shiftings and Changes of the *Supreme Authority*, which the Civil War had produced; began to wiſh in good Earneſt for a *Free Parliament*, and that our *Antient Conſtitution* might be Reſtored. PROVIDENCE now, in a Wonderful Manner interpoſed; a Parliament was called; and this Parliament recalled *Charles* II. from a long and tedious Exile, and at a Time when He little expected ſo ſudden a Change of Affairs in his Favour, and the Hopes of his ever being Reſtored to the Throne of his Father was become almoſt forlorn.

Happy had it been for this *Nation*, Happy for *Charles* II. and for his *Brother* and *Succeſſor*; if, when *Kingly Power* was Reſtored, and the King would gladly have accepted it, under any Juſt and Reaſonable Limitations, for the future Security of the *Publick Liberty*, againſt ſuch Storms as the Nation had already undergone, or, againſt ſuch as might be foreſeen from the Nature of Things would probably happen, and which we have ſince ſeen gathered over us; Our *Conſtitution* had been *Wiſely ſettled*. But alas! in an Extacy of Publick Joy, *Wiſdom*, that loves to have her Oracle conſulted, not in a Croud, or in a Mob, but by the calm Attention of Devout and Conſidering Minds; hides Herſelf, and withdraws her Light from amidſt our unſeaſonable Raptures!

That *Great* and *Wiſe* Man, afterwards, Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, to his immortal Honour, moved in this *Parliament*; That *a* * *Committee might be appointed to look into the Propoſitions that had been made, and the Conceſſions that had been offered by the* late King, *and from thence digeſt ſuch Propoſitions, as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to* Charles II. But neither the Wiſdom of the Propoſer, nor the very great Importance of the Motion, were of Weight enough to carry the Point; in a Parliament where National Liberty, and Publick Good were forgotten, and abſorp't in Tranſports of Joy, the *Unſeaſonableneſs* of which ſoon appeared by the Nation's running a great deal too far into the King's Arms.——In *Theſe*, the Time of *ſettling our Conſtitution* was loſt, and can no more be regained, 'till the *Neglect of doing it now*,

* *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of his own Times. Pa. 88, 89.

and the *Arbitrary Measures* of the Crown, in This and the succeeding Reigns, almost subverted our Constitution once more, gathered another Storm over the Nation, and ended in another *Revolution*; At which Time, *Kind Providence* again offered our *Fathers* an Opportunity of ensuring *Liberty* to Posterity, by *settling our Constitution* on Wise Foundations; which, as by an unhappy Fatality, was neglected, as it had been *Twice* before.

CHARLES II. who wanted some of the greatest Virtues of his *Unhappy Father*, trod but too much in His, and in his Grandfather *James the First*'s Steps; although, taught by their Example, He was too Wise to drive Things to Extremity, as They had done, and as his Successor did afterwards. Instead of *Calming* Spirits, and *reconciling* Parties; which, as the Common Father of his People, He ought to have endeavoured, and for a little Time at the Beginning of his Reign profess'd to have at Heart, and which would have been a truly *Kingly* Work, had He persisted in it; He soon forgot, or at least departed from, his former Resolutions and Promises, and Unwisely fomented our *National Divisions*. I call it *Unwisely*; because it certainly was so, notwithstanding He had Address enough to play Different *Parties*, one against another, and to make Use of One to keep the other Under; for surely, a Father acts very Unwisely, who sets his Children at Variance, and has only the *Servile* Attachment of *some*, when he might have the *Love* of *all*.

When a Prince unhappily pursues, such a Method of Government, 'tis necessary He should gratify the *Zealots* of the *Party* He pretends to favour, nay, if possible, make them more *Rigid*, that He may attach Them the more strongly to Him; and such Men there are, in every *Party*, in every *Church*, and *Sect*. Several very *severe Laws* were made in this Reign against the *Non-Conformists*; the Promoters of which, shewed nothing less than a Spirit agreeable with *Christian* Charity, Meekness and Forbearance, and consequently took the wrong Way either to do Service to *True Religion*, or to extirpate *Errors* and *false Opinions*; Both which, must be done, not by inflicting Hardships and Persecutive Methods, but by that Pious, Charitable, Peaceable Temper and Deportment, which *Christianity* in all its Branches, tends to inspire its Professors with. By *Severe Laws*, I do not mean the *Test Acts*, as such, which have, as I shall shew hereafter, their Reason in our *Constitution* in Church and State, and ought not to be Repealed, unless This be also altered; but I mean, the *Five-Mile Act*, the Laws to suppress *Conventicles*, and the like,

like, the Methods of Profecution, and the fevere Penalties inflicted by them, and which have been fince difpenfed with.---- All that can be faid to excufe the Part which the *Members* of the Church of *England* had, in thefe Oppreffions, is, That it was no more than a Retorfion of the Hardfhips which *Churchmen* had a few Years before fuffered from the *Sectaries*; But This, tho' it might be their Motive, yet is far from being a *Juft One*, and is highly unfit for Men to be governed by, either as *Chriftians*, or, as *Members of Civil Society*; fo long as *Charity* and *Forgivenefs of Trefpaffes*, are the Great Duties we ought to Practice in our *Religious*; and *Juftice* and *Equity*, in our *Civil* Capacity.

As the *Royal Family* had fuffered as great Hardfhips as the *Church*, from the *Preftyterians* and *Independents*, during the Late Troubles; one may reafonably conclude, that *Revenge* had its Part likewife in ftimulating *Them* on, to thefe *Severities:* But then, what afterwards happened, plainly fhewed that this was far from being the principal Motive of the *Court*. The two Princes, *Charles* and *James*, during their Exile, had both privately embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion; at leaft *James*, after He came to the Throne, publifhed that his Brother died a *Catholick*; tho' indeed, He had properly no Religion. However, his whole Reign fhews that *Charles* was inclined to favour *Popery*, to which *James*, then *Duke of York*, was immoderately Bigotted: This made the *Court* take all Ways which were thought likely to obtain a *Toleration* for that Religion, and in the End, to *Eftablifh* it. To effect this, *Proteftant Diffenters* of all Denominations were indifcriminately confounded with one another, and with the *Papifts*, under the common Name of *Non-Conformifts*, and thefe *Perfecutive Laws* were made againft all alike; the *Court* hoping, that fo very great a Body of Men, driven to Extremity, would have Weight enough, to obtain a *Univerfal Toleration* from the Parliament, in which *Papifts* and *Proteftants*, as they had been confounded Together before, would have the fame Favour fhewn them. This was the Reafon, why the *Court* fometimes cajoled the *Preftyterians*, and affected to pity their Cafe; which fhewed itfelf to be nothing but a *Part Acted*, when towards the latter End of this Reign, the *Parliament* would have made fome Juft Diftinctions in their Favour, and the *Court* fruftrated that Good Defign.

JAMES II. pulled off the Mafk which covered from Vulgar Eyes, the fecret Motives to thefe Dark Meafures, and feemingly Inconfiftent Steps of his *Brother's Reign*. *Charles* had for fome Years before his Death, layed afide *Parliaments:*

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Being rid of this Reſtraint, and having nothing to fear, He governed with *Abſolute Power*, and in the moſt *Arbitrary* Manner; the Proſecutions of the *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, which had been ſuſpended for ſome Years, were renewed, and carried on with greater Rigour than ever. This brought Things juſt to the Point which the *Duke* had been labouring for, when the *King* died, and He aſcended the Throne: that is, the *Diſſenters* by hard Uſage, were almoſt driven to Deſpair, and, as will appear preſently, were brought by this Means, contrary to their Principles, to like a *Toleration*, even of *Popery*, ſo they Themſelves enjoyed *Liberty of Conſcience*. For *James*, finding it impoſſible to bring, even, a *Tory Parliament* into his Meaſures, to *aboliſh the Penal Laws*, in favour of *Papiſts*; took upon Him to Diſpenſe with thoſe *Laws* by his own *Sole Power*, and publiſhed a Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*.

* *RAPIN* tells us, "Very probably there was not in "the whole Nation a ſingle Perſon, who thought the King "deſigned to favour or eaſe the Non-Conformiſts. Every "one clearly ſaw that his Aim in this Declaration was to "eſtabliſh the Popiſh Religion upon the Ruins of the Prote-"ſtant. For, *adds he*, how could it be ſuppoſed that the "King, from a Violent Perſecutor, ſhould at once become a "Friend to the *Diſſenters?*" Nevertheleſs, in Confirmation of what I have juſt now ſaid, *(i. e.)* That even the *Diſſenters* were brought to ſwallow a *Toleration of Popery*; "Addreſ-"ſes of Thanks, (ſays the ſame *Hiſtorian)* from the ſeveral "Sects, were preſented to the King for his Declaration. The "*Anabaptiſts* led the Way: The *Quakers* followed, and next "came the *Independents*; and laſtly, the *Preſbyterians*. "Some of theſe Addreſſes, ſpeaking of the Royal Power, "carried it to the Higheſt Degree, becauſe it was then Advan-"tageous to the Non-Conformiſts to maintain the Authority "by which they were freed from their Conſtraints."

I DO not ſay this, to reproach the *Diſſenters* of this Age, nor even the Memory of their Predeceſſors; but I do it for this only End, *(viz.)* That as it appears from Undeniable Facts, that both *Whigs* and *Tories*, *Churchmen* and *Diſſenters*, have in their Turns departed from their Profeſſed Principles, been made the *Dupes* and *Tools* of *Courts*, and been alike, tho' at different Times, brought into Meaſures, that are inconſiſtent with their Character as *Proteſtants*; contrary to our *Conſtitution*, deſtructive of *National Liberty*, and therefore as hard to be reconciled with the Duty of *Engliſh-men*;

* *Tindal's* Tranſlation, Page 758.

men; Thoſe of no Party, or Church, or Sect, would look back into the Hiſtory of Paſt Times, to gather thence Matter of Reproach and Invective againſt the Others; That the Men of the Preſent Age would hereby be induced to forget, or at leaſt to forgive, theſe Injuries, Oppreſſions, and Slaviſh Compliances ſo long paſt, ſo as never hereafter to reflect on each other with *Bitterneſs*; but on the contrary, that *All* would chearfully and unanimouſly join at all Times for the future, in Support of their *Common Liberty*, and their *Country*'s Happineſs, with that mutual Love, and reciprocal Good-Will, which it becomes Them as *Fellow-Chriſtians*, as *Proteſtants*, and as *Country-Men*, always to bear to one another. And that which ought to prevail with Them to do ſo, more than any thing elſe, except it be the Sovereign Motives of *Charity* and *Juſtice*, and of our *Religion* and *Liberty*, which in the preſent Time of Deplorable *Corruption*, there is no Hope of preſerving but by ſuch a *Union*; is the Glorious Example of our *Anceſtors*, at the Time I am now ſpeaking of; *an Example*, which their *Poſterity* will always emulate in the like Time of Danger, ſo long as *Religion*, *Truth* or *Liberty* have any Place in their Affections; or, ſo long as *Engliſhmen* retain an *Engliſh Spirit!* For,

It was not long, before the Unhappy *James the Second*'s Conduct, opened the Eyes of all *Sects* and *Parties*, to the Danger which very nearly threatened at once to ſubvert the *Religion* and *Liberty* of All. There was then a Glorious *Coalition*, not only of all *Parties*, but of all *Religions* too, in the Kingdom, (except the *Popiſh*) in Defence of the *Beſt* of all Cauſes, which is, of *True Religion*, and of *National Liberty*. The Great Reaſon of this hearty Union was the Common Danger with which *Theſe* were threaten'd. And a truly Noble Principle it ſhewed in our *Fathers*, that they loved *Religion* and *Liberty*, the moſt Eſſential Principles of which are, alas! now-a-days ſo little regarded, above all other Conſiderations! But then, there was another that greatly help't alſo, and which ſerved, perhaps, more than any thing beſides, to keep the Nation in that Uncommon *good Order* which was happily obſerved in ſo great a Change as the *Revolution*; which was This, the Miſeries and Diſappointments of the Late *Civil War*, were freſh in every Body's Memory, and a Fear of falling into the like again, was a ſufficient Reſtraint on Men, whoſe *Mutual Prejudices* were in a good Meaſure Healed, and almoſt happily turned into *Mutual Love*.

So Happy, ſo Hearty an *Union* of all Sects and Parties in ſo Glorious a Cauſe, was crowned with a Signal Bleſſing of

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an Extraordinary Kind, Good *Providence*, which on that Occaſion diſtinguiſhed itſelf in favour of this Nation, by bringing about ſo great a *Revolution* without Bloodſhed. This was a moſt Signal Inſtance how much the *GOD of Peace* is pleaſed with *Unity*, and cauſes his Bleſſings to flow down, on Minds *United* in the Cauſe of Truth and Virtue. The Remembrance of the *Firſt*, to the Honour of our *Anceſtors*; and the Remembrance of *Both*, to the Glory and Praiſe of a *moſt Good GOD*; ought certainly, out of no more than a juſt Senſe of Thankfulneſs to the *Latter*, and of Duty and Gratitude to the Memory of the *Former*, to prevail on Us their *Children*, in Imitation of their *truly Wiſe* Conduct on this Occaſion, to endeavour by all poſſible Ways, agreeable with *Juſtice* and our *Conſtitution*, to encreaſe and perfect that *Union* which They ſo Happily begun; and not ſuffer ourſelves to be again *Divided*, by Crafty and Deſigning Men, whoſe Ends, in endeavouring cauſeleſsly to revive our old Piques and Animoſities, are Baſe, and ſuch as are unfit to be openly owned, and ſhould they ſucceed, can have no other, than their Old Effects; of not only hindring many *National Bleſſings*, but of bringing on *Publick Diſtractions*, and *Publick Calamities*.

For altho' One Great and almoſt neceſſary Work, which we have already mentioned, (viz.) *Settling our Conſtitution*, was at this important Criſis, not ſufficiently taken Care of, as many *Wiſe and Good Engliſhmen* have ſince lamented: Yet however, infinite Good Effects have been ſeen to follow this *Glorious Revolution*; and eſpecially, that above all, Deſirable and good One, of Healing more and more the Wound of our *Religious Differences*. The *Diſſenters* could no longer ſuſpect the Church of *England*, of leaning to *Popery*; when they ſaw Her *Biſhops*, her *Clergy*, and the whole Body of *Churchmen* ſtand in the Gap againſt *Popery*; choſe rather to endure the greateſt Hardſhips, than ſee it Eſtabliſhed; and in fine, by their Conſtancy and Firmneſs, be the Chief Inſtruments of freeing the Nation from this Great impending Evil. Beſides, our *Princes* and our *Parliaments* have ſince Wiſely left off the old Deſtructive Way, of ſetting *Churchmen* above *Diſſenters*, or *Diſſenters* above *Churchmen*; and have, by taking off thoſe juſtly complained of Laws, which were calculated, not to make *True Converts*, but to Injure and Oppreſs, endeavoured to reduce all Parties to the only proper Standard of *Juſt* and *Reaſonable*, and of being mutually content with it; wiſely foreſeeing, that Moderating the Deſires of *All*, is the only Way to make us *One*: Which deſirable Work, we have ſeen in a good Meaſure effected.

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THAT Admirable Writer, the *Diſſertator on Parties*, ſpeaking of the preſent Temper of the Members of the Church of *England* towards the *Diſſenters*; very rightly obſerves: "Thoſe Laws, by which the *Latter* were debarred from ſerving GOD after their own Way, have not been theſe many Years a Terror to them. Thoſe which were deſigned to hinder the Propagation of their Principles, and Thoſe which ſhut the Door of all Publick Preferment, even to ſuch among them as *Conformed Occaſionally*, are Repealed. Far from deſiring to impoſe any new Hardſhips upon them, even *Thoſe* who have been reputed their Enemies, and who have acted as ſuch upon ſeveral Occaſions, acknowledge their Error. Experience hath removed Prejudice. They ſee that *Indulgence* hath done what *Severity* never could: ——We are now in the true and only Road which can poſſibly lead to a perfect Reconciliation among Proteſtants; to the Abolition of all their *Differences*, or to Terms of *Difference* ſo little Eſſential as to deſerve none of *Diſtinction*. Theſe Happy Ends muſt be obtained by *mutual Good-Will*. They never can be obtained by *Force*. It is true indeed, that *Force*, which is the Effect of a Majority and Superior Power, may ſupport a Rivalſhip, and erect even *Counter-Eſtabliſhments*. But then, by the ſame Means, our Antient Diſputes will be revived; the *Church* will be thought really in Danger; and Religious Feuds, which have been ſo long and ſo beneficially kept down, will once more diſturb the Peace of the State."

MAY both *Churchmen* and *Diſſenters* be ever hereafter duly ſenſible of the *Error*, (for an Error it will be, and a great one too, I am afraid its *Effects* would, perhaps too late evince) of their being led on, by either *Crafty*, or *Corrupt*, or *Hot-headed* Men, to re-commence their former *Animoſities!* May both *Parties* abhor next to *Hell* itſelf, the dangerous Revival of our *Antient Diſputes*; and as *Miſſionaries of Hell*, thoſe Men, who would cauſeleſsly revive and foment them! May, I ſay, both *Churchmen* and *Diſſenters* preſerve towards each other *mutual Good-Will*; and ſhew it, by being always ready to do by each other, both in *Publick* and in *Private Life*, all poſſible *mutual Good Offices!* The only Way for them to keep towards one another, this only *Chriſtian*, this only *Rational* Temper; is, for the *One Party*, to reſolve never to aſk nor deſire any thing, but what is plainly *Juſt*, *Reaſonable*, and agreeable with our *Conſtitution*; and for the *other*, never to deny what is ſo. Nay, if poſſible, to be aforehand in doing ſuch *Good Offices*; offering before 'tis aſked. For it is by

Charity, *Juſtice*, and *Moderation*, alone, that a *Party-Spirit* can be ſubdued: And that *Party* which ſhews moſt Inſtances of Theſe, ſhews a Noble Superiority of *Virtue*, to the other; which *Virtue*, if I may ſay it in a *Vicious Age*, will keep that *Party* ſafeſt, which ever it be; and as the *Virtues* of its Members are ſo, ſo will make its *Glory* ſuperior!

I SPEAK This, with an Eye to thoſe *Religious Differences*, which ſome Crafty Men, have within theſe few Years, endeavoured to revive in this Nation; That by the Way they have been carried on in, ſeem calculated on purpoſe to reſtore and animate our *Antient Evil Spirit of Diſcord*. To GOD, are the ſecret Springs of theſe Men's Actions open; and to his All-juſt and All-powerful Hand I leave them! But let me ſpeak as an *Engliſhman*'s Duty requires, and as far I know my own Heart, Honeſtly, and without Prejudice, of the *Apparent and Avowed Cauſes of theſe Differences*. Which I purpoſe, thro' GOD's Aſſiſtance, to treat of, as an *Engliſhman* whoſe great Concern is, as every *Engliſhman's* ought to be, That the *Veſſel of the Common-Wealth* may ſail ſafely through the Storms, which from different Quarters threaten, and ſeem prepared to overſet *Her*; already too *weak*, and almoſt ſunk under a Load of *Corruptions*, which have gradually encreaſed in Her, to her almoſt Unavoidable Ruin.

THE Cauſes which at preſent ſeem to threaten the Revival of our *Religious Animoſities*, are Two: The *Firſt*; *becauſe the* Diſſenters *are excluded from all* Offices *in the State*, *except They* Communicate *with the Church of* England, *Once a Year*.——The *Second*, *The Expence* Quakers *are put to*, *and the Oppreſſions they lie under*, *from the* Civil *and* Eccleſiaſtical Courts, *for the Recovery of* Tythe. We will now endeavour to ſpeak to theſe Two Grand Cauſes of *Diſcontent*, one after another.

THE Arguments againſt the *Former* of Theſe, I think, are reducible to the Two following.——*Firſt*, That the *Diſſenters* are hereby debarred of their *Natural Right* and *Liberty*, as *Engliſhmen*.—— *Secondly*, That the *Holy Sacrament* is by this Means, greatly *Profaned*.

As a Lover of the *Liberty* of my Countrymen in general, and of the *Natural Rights* of all Mankind; I have as real and as juſt a Concern for every *Engliſhman's* full Enjoyment of them, as the moſt Zealous Advocate for the *Repeal* of the *Corporation* and *Teſt Acts*; and am heartily ſorry to ſee the leaſt Appearance of any Private Perſon, but much more of Numerous Bodies of the *Common-wealth*, being excluded from them.

them. It must be acknowledged that these *Acts* have not only an Appearance of excluding *Dissenters* from all Offices of the *State*, but do effectually shut the Door against such as think it *Sinful* to Communicate with the *Church Established*. But then, as it appears that the greatest Part of the *Dissenters* have not so *ill* an Opinion of their *Protestant* Brethren of the Church of *England*, as to think Communion with Her, a *Sin*; This, as it mightily lessens the Number of the *Excluded*, so, it not a little abates the Force of that Objection.

I KNOW, it will be thought foreign to the present Dispute, to challenge any *Dissenters* to give Instances of *real Sin*, in our Church Communion; perhaps, they would give some pretended Instances of it; shut their Eyes against Conviction to the contrary, and say, It is enough that they think it to be *Sin*. I am the more bold to say This, because Mr. *Rapin* who was himself a *Presbyterian*, tells us, * *Very few foreign Protestants scruple to Communicate with the Church of* England; which inclines one to think, that this Charge of *Sin*, coming from some of our own Nation; was either owing to private Pique, or, to some unjust Prejudices, infused by *Rigid Teachers*, or, more like, by *Romish Missionaries* in Disguise, sent over on purpose to widen the Breach, and weaken the Protestant Cause by raising in both *Parties* an irreconcileable Enmity; rather than to any just and solid Grounds. But certainly it will not be denied, that it deserves much more their Consideration, as *Christians*, the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and End, of whose Religion, is *Charity*; whether this *Imputation of Sin, be just, or not*; than it does who shall possess *Preferments in the State*; after every one has the free Exercise of his own Religion allowed him.

AND now, having come so far out of my Way, I can't help digressing a Step farther; That is, with all Modesty and humble Submission, to recommend to the *Pastours*, *Teachers*, and *Rulers* of all the *Religious Societies* in this Nation, To the *Bishops* and *Clergy* of the Church of *England*, as well as the Rest; to consider the lamentable Corruptions of *Doctrines* and *Manners*, insensibly crept into the Christian World; and the scandalous *Degeneracy* of great Numbers of those who profess *Christianity*, from the Purity of the *Precepts* of the *Gospel*: Which *Corruption* and *Degeneracy* are not confined to any one Church or Sect, but lamentably runs through all. On this Occasion, I say, I cannot help putting them in Mind, that They would do a Thing more pleasing to GOD, more for the Honour of Christianity, and more for the Publick Be-

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* *Tindal's* Translation, Page 734.

nefit; if, according to the plain and acknowledged Duty of Thoſe in the High and Conſcientious Truſt, of *Church Government*, They would convert their Zeal towards Reſtoring *Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, for the Charitable Work of reclaiming *Notorious Sinners*, and for excluding Thoſe from *Chriſtian Communion*, who after due Admonition and Reproof continue *Reprobate*; that ſo every one may keep its Members conformed to ſuch Regularity and Holineſs of Life, as it becomes a *Chriſtian Church* to do. For, We here appeal to every Man; and let Him anſwer, not in the Heat of *Party-Zeal*, but with a calm and ſober Mind; if He does not think it ſhameful and ſcandalous in the *Teachers of Religion*, to encourage and ſtir up *Schiſms*, among thoſe who ought to be of *One Mind*, and to worſhip G O D in *One Spirit*, on account of *Trifling Errors*; and at the ſame time, be at Peace with *Notorious Sinners*, provided they outwardly profeſs to be of their own Communion.

But alas! We now live in an *Age*, whoſe great Misfortune it is, not to conſider ſo much, which are the Great Duties of *Religious Perſons*, and how to practiſe them; as They do, How *Religious* and *Civil Eſtabliſhments* conſiſt and agree together. And I am afraid on that Account, that the ſhort Digreſſion I have here made, will by ſome be looked on as Impertinent. We will now therefore, come cloſer to the Point, and endeavour to ſhew, that the *Corporation* and *Teſt Acts* ought not to be Repealed, on thoſe very Principles, of the *Natural Rights* and *Liberty* of Engliſhmen; on account of which, the *Repeal* is ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on.——To prove This, We will lay down the following *Poſtulata*.

Postulata.

I. *A Member of the Church of England, hath the ſame* Natural Rights, *and* Liberties, *as a Diſſenter.*

II. *Either, a Member of that Church, or a Diſſenter, is deprived of his* Natural Right *and* Liberty, *in a much more* Eſſential *and* Tender *Point, when He is debarred from ſerving G O D, in his particular Way; or, when the* Church, *or* Sect, *to which He joins himſelf, is denied* a Legal Toleration; *than He is, when only excluded from* State-Offices.

III. *Our Eſtabliſhed Church; the Order in which She is Governed; and the Manner of Worſhipping G O D preſcribed by Her: may juſtly be as Dear to any One of her* Members, *as that Church, or Sect to which a* Diſſenter *joins Himſelf;*

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Her Form of Government; or particular Way of Worſhip, is to Him.

IV. *If a Member of the Church of England, is deprived of* Theſe; *He is as much debarr'd of his Natural Right and Liberty, as an* Engliſhman, *as a Diſſenter is in the ſame Caſe.* Conſequently,

V. *If the* Church of England *will be in greater Danger, in caſe theſe* Acts *ſhould be Repealed; than the* Diſſenting Churches *are, or can be ſuppoſed reaſonably to be, ſo long as they remain unrepealed; they ought to remain in Force.*

Now, the *Church of England* hath always been, and is, ſubject to the *Civil Power*, in making Canons and Conſtitutions for her *External* Government, Diſcipline, and Forms of Publick Worſhip.—— On the other Hand, the *Diſſenting Churches* have a Power, Diſcipline and Way of Worſhip, of their own, which are *independent* on the *Civil Power* in every Reſpect.——In the Caſe of the Church of *England*, there is, as one may call it, an *Incorporation* of the *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil* Powers, one with another: And this plainly creates a Neceſſity, that all *Members of Corporations*, who elect Repreſentatives to *Parliament*; all Perſons in the *Civil Legiſlature*, and thoſe who in *Authority* under them, *execute Laws* relating to the Government of the *Church of England*, her Diſcipline, or Forms of Publick Worſhip; ſhould be of Her *Communion*; or, at leaſt, ſhould not be ſuch as think her Communion *Sinful*.——In the Caſe of *Diſſenting* Churches, their *Independency* on the *Civil Power*, makes their Government, Diſcipline, and particular Way of Worſhipping GOD, much more ſecure to *Diſſenters*, whilſt the *Corporation* and *Teſt Acts* are in Force, than the *ſame Things* would be to the *Members* of the Church of *England*, were thoſe Laws to be Repealed. For at preſent, the Security of the *Diſſenters* ariſes from the *Independency* of their Churches, on the State: But ſuppoſe theſe *Acts* to be *Repealed*, the Unſafety of the *Members* of the Church of *England*, will ariſe from the *Dependency* of their Church on the ſame State. So that, was the *Repeal* to take place, there would be no Way of putting Churchmen and Diſſenters on an *Equal Foot*, but by making the Church of England as *Independent* on the State, as Diſſenting Churches are; which can only be effected by deſtroying the *Eſtabliſhment*, and making no *Church of England* at all.

As to any *Offices in the State*, if any there are, which have nothing to do with the Enacting or Executing Laws that relate

late to the *Government*, *Diſcipline*, or *Publick Worſhip* of the Church; as the Reaſon of a *Teſt* ceaſes, the *Teſt* ought, in my humble Opinion, to be taken away; and thoſe Offices left free to be poſſeſſed by *Engliſhmen*, of all Denominations, who can poſſeſs them conſiſtently with the *Publick Liberty*. But the admitting Men into the *Government* of our Church, or of any Church, who think the *Communion* of that Church *Sinful*, is certainly, not only *Unreaſonable*, but ſeems *Unnatural:* I am perſuaded, it muſt appear ſo, in the Eyes even of the *Diſſenters* themſelves; for the Notion of a *Sinful Communion*, will be an unanſwerable Argument, and a perpetual Spur, to Men of *Religious* Inclinations, to endeavour to deſtroy it; the greater this *Religious Zeal*, they will breathe Deſtruction with the greater Ardour: Then ſhall we ſee, once again fulfilled, what our *Bleſſed LORD* foretold his *Diſciples*, John xvi. 2. *Men ſhall perſecute you, and think they do GOD Service.*

One great Argument for the *Repeal*, is, That this *Badge of Slavery*, as it is called, being taken off; *Churchmen* and *Diſſenters* will run into one another's Arms, mutual Jealouſies will ceaſe, and *All* will be united, and concur in promoting One common Good, the National Intereſt and Publick Liberty. But I beg Leave to aſk every *Reaſonable Diſſenter*, and I would not be underſtood to direct any thing herein ſaid, to thoſe who are of the contrary Character, becauſe I know it will avail nothing: I ſay, We aſk every *Reaſonable Diſſenter*, why he may not as well, nay, better, Unite with *Churchmen*; and why all theſe Publick *Happineſſes* may not as well be brought upon us, whilſt the *Corporation* and *Teſt Acts* ſubſiſt, as after they are aboliſhed? They ſee, that the *Hardſhip* after the *Repeal*, will only ſhift Hands, and fall to the *Churchmen's* Lot, inſtead of the *Diſſenters*; and is the *Danger* the Church will be in from it, proper to *heal*, or to *encreaſe* our mutual Jealouſies? May not *Churchmen* now aſk, What have we done of late, to provoke the *Diſſenters* to aſk a Thing, the granting which will manifeſtly endanger our *Church*, and tend to deprive us of our Neareſt and Deareſt *Liberties?*

Surely, now it is ſeen that the *Repeal* will let in, her *Enemies*, into the very *Government* of our *Church*; it will not be denied that ſhe will be brought into Danger by it: It will not be deny'd, that it is either poſſible, or probable, that the Diſſenters may in ſome future Time, have a Majority of their *Friends*, or even of their *Members*, in one, or other, *Houſe of Parliament*. This hath been our Caſe once already. And one who duly conſiders, how very *Unequally* the People

of

of England are *Repreſented*; how much *Corporations* are under private Management of *Agents* and *Election-Mongers*; through whoſe Baſe, Secret Practices, we frequently ſee the *Worthieſt* and the *Wealthieſt* Men in a Borough, ſlighted, and the moſt *Unprincipled* and *Indigent Upſtarts* choſen *Magiſtrates*; and in a Word, what Progreſs *Bribery*, and every *Corrupt*, *Unconſtitutional* Method of getting into Parliament, have made in this Nation, ſince that Time: All theſe *Ill Circumſtances* conſidered, there is Reaſon to fear, that ſhould the *Diſſenters* join their united Efforts, they would have greater Probability of Succeſs, *ſooner* or *later*, than they had before the fatal Year, *Forty-One*.

We will preſume, from a Principle of Love of the *General Liberty* of all *Engliſhmen*, to ſuppoſe farther; That any *One Sect* of Diſſenters ſhould ſo prevail, as, to uſe the Words of the *Diſſertator on Parties*, to *erect a Counter-Eſtabliſhment*, and ſubvert the Now Eſtabliſhed Church. This hath been: And every one knows, what *hath been*, may be; and will be the more eaſily effected, when there is a Precedent to go by. I aſk then; Can any one ſuppoſe ſuch a *New Eſtabliſhment* will be more favourable to other Churches, than the Preſent Church of *England* is, or hath generally been, to all *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, ſince the *Revolution?*——The *Preſbyterians* are the Richeſt, moſt numerous, and have the beſt Intereſt in Elections, of any one *Diſſenting* Sect, and beſides, are backed by their *Brethren in Scotland*; ſo that they would be the likelieſt to ſet up a *New Eſtabliſhment*. * *Rapin* tells us, that *tho' the* Preſbyterians *had under the Reigns of* Elizabeth, James I. *and* Charles I. *taken it very ill to be denied the free Exerciſe of their Religion, they were by no means inclined to grant others the ſame Liberty they had demanded for themſelves.* A Liberty, which (he ſays) was inconſiſtent with the Principles of the Preſbyterians. The ſame Author tells us in another Place, † *They could hardly endure the Liberty of Conſcience enjoyed by all Proteſtants*, under *Cromwell*; and ſomewhere elſe, that they looked on this *Toleration* of others, as a *Perſecution*. And now, if together with this, the Averſion of the *Kirk*, to a Toleration, is conſidered; it can hardly be imagined, that the Cauſe of *Liberty*, or of the *Proteſtant* Religion in general, would get any thing by a Change of *Eſtabliſhments*.

In fine; What doth the *True Spirit of Liberty* dictate, in this Caſe? Doth it tell us, that when the moſt Excellent *Conſtitution*, perhaps, in the World, happens to create a ſmall Incon-

* *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, Page 603. † Ibid. p. 591.

Inconvenience to particular Bodies of Men; That the very *Being* of the Conſtitution itſelf, ought to be indangered; or, that *ſuch Men* ought to bear with that Inconvenience? Doth it tell us, that the more *Antient Church*, whoſe *Biſhops*, *Clergy*, and other *Members*, at firſt effected the Pious Work of the *Reformation*, and many of whom ſealed the ſame by their *Glorious Marytrdom*; Doth the *Spirit of Liberty*, I ſay, tell us, that this *Church*, (which did at the Beginning of the *Reformation*, and hath ſince, both ſtood the Shock, and felt the Effects, of *Popiſh Power*, and of *Popiſh Cruelty*) and her much more *Numerous Members*, ought to have their Government, Diſcipline, and Worſhip of GOD, rendered *Unſafe*; or, that the more Modern, and leſs Numerous *Diſſenters*, ſhould be admitted into the Government of the Church, when the Independency of theirs on the *State*, creates a Security to Them, which She is a Stranger unto?

As what hath been ſaid, ſhews, that ſo long as our Conſtitution in Church and State continues as it is, ſo long it creates a Neceſſity that Thoſe whoſe *Offices* in the *State* give them Power in the *Church*, ought to be of *Church Communion*, or at leaſt, not ſuch as think it *Sinful*; the Receiving the *Holy Sacrament*, being the only proper *Teſt* of this *Communion*: I think this takes off from the *Legiſlature*, the Weight of that Heinous Charge of expoſing that moſt *Sacred Inſtitution to frequent Profanations*; becauſe it plainly appears, that the *Law* in this Caſe, requires Nothing but what our *Conſtitution* itſelf dictates to it: If it be an Imperfection in our Conſtitution, it is ſuch as cannot be altered conſiſtently with a *National Church*, without expoſing that Church to frequent Subverſions, according to the Caprice of any *Party*, which may happen to get Uppermoſt. This makes the Guilt of *Profanation*, fall on the Heads of thoſe *Wicked Men*, who are impious enough to dare approach the Sacrament in their Sins; and on thoſe, who if they know a Man to be ſcandalouſly *Wicked*, will yet put him into a *Place*, which they know requires him to Receive the *LORD's Supper*, in order to Qualify him for it.

I CANNOT help thinking, that if proper Care was taken, the *Sacramental Teſt* might become of as *Good a Uſe*, as it is now charged with of being a *Bad one*; I mean, if *Chriſtians*, juſtly abhorring the *infamous Doctrines* of thoſe, who in ſpight of both *Chriſtianity and Reaſon*, tell us that *Wilful, Habitual Impenitent Sinners*, may come and be *Worthy Receivers* of this Holy Sacrament; would endeavour to carry within them, a juſt Senſe of the Excellency of thoſe *Virtues* which

which make a *True Chriſtian*, and a *Worthy Communicant* at the LORD's-Supper. If Men would duly conſider, that the ſame *Integrity of Life*, which only makes a Man a *Worthy Communicant*, is as neceſſary to the *Good of the State*, as it is to *True Religion*; and that the *State* at preſent, ſuffers as much for the Want of theſe Virtues in its Members, as the *Church* does; I am perſuaded, that inſtead of Repealing the *Teſts*, on account of their profaning the Sacrament, They would be for reſtoring *Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, and for taking greater Care that none may be admitted to the Sacrament, but ſuch as appear to lead *Chriſtian Lives*; that ſo, looking on the *Integrity of a Man's Life*, as it indeed is, as the great and neceſſary Qualification for his Honeſt Diſcharge of an *Office* in the *State*, They would make his *Receiving the Sacrament*, the Teſt of his *Integrity*: And I believe in ſuch a Caſe, a properer *Teſt* could hardly be found out.——I am not unapprehenſive how *odd*, and how much *out of the way*, this Propoſal will appear to the Generality of Mankind, who ſeem almoſt to have forgot the neceſſary Connection which there is between a *Life of Integrity*, and the *Practice of Integrity*, in Publick Truſts. But thoſe who have read the Hiſtories of Nations with any Attention, muſt have ſeen, that when thoſe Virtues which the Precepts of *Chriſtianity* require Men to obſerve, have been practiſed by Perſons in the *Civil Government*, and by the *Magiſtrates* in Authority under Them, the *State* hath ſeldom failed to flouriſh; but when the contrary *Vices* have prevailed, hath as ſeldom failed to fall into Decay and Ruin. Whence they will ſee that what we have mentioned, is not ſo unreaſonable in itſelf, as it is unfit or impoſſible to be brought in Practice, in a *Corrupt Age*, and among a *Corrupt People*.

The Second Thing that ſeems at preſent to threaten the Revival of our former *Religious Animoſities*, is the Uneaſineſs of the *Quakers*, on account of the Great Expence they are put to, by Actions brought againſt them, for the Recovery of *Tythe*.

As the Part I have here taken upon me, is only, with Submiſſion to better Judgments, to offer ſome Arguments to *Diſſuade* Honeſt, Reaſonable Men of all *Religions* and of all *Parties*, not to renew thoſe *Unhappy Heart-burnings and Quarrels* which in Times paſt have produced the *Greateſt Evils* which this Nation hath ever groaned under, and too probably would be again attended with the ſame Tremendous Effects; I ſhall not enter into that Part of the Argu-

ment wherein one Side, pretend *Tythes* to be a *Property*, or, of *Divine Right*; and the other would reduce them to be no more than *Wages*, and even thoſe *Wages* payed too, contrary to the Inſtitution of the *Chriſtian Church*. I ſay, to enter into theſe Diſputes, is not the Buſineſs of one, who would perſuade *Engliſhmen* of all Parties and Religions, to make JUST and REASONABLE, the *Center* of their common Deſires; to live in *Brotherly Love*; and for the ſake of the general Good of their Common Mother their *Country*, and for that of the Preſervation of our *Conſtitution* and *Liberties*, which are the greateſt Bleſſing, and the Common Birth-right of all; to be *United* one with another in the mutual Bond of Charity and Peace. For which Reaſon, I ſhall take Notice only of ſuch Things, as I think, are plainly inconſiſtent with a *Peaceful Temper* and *Love of our Country*; and which conſequently, may be Means to revive our *old Animoſities*.

THE Author of the *Anſwer to the Country Parſon's Plea*, tells us (Page 12.) that *the Quakers deſire, that ſo long as* Tythes *are levied upon them, it may be in the leaſt oppreſſive Courſe, and by the moſt Summary Proceſs.*——Again, (pa. 24.) he tells us, *They pray it*;----*That* they *may* not be *ruined* by *Suits in all Shapes carried on without End.*——*They are only ſollicitous for it (i. e.)* (the Method they ſue for) *becauſe it is ſhort and ſpeedy.*——Again, (pa. 77.) *The People called Quakers, who are moſt oppreſſed by* Suits *for Tythe, apply* for *the better Regulation of* ſuch *Suits, that they may* be *leſs oppreſſed* by *them.*

IF the *Quakers* groan under the Exceſſive Expence, and the Oppreſſive Methods of *Law-Proceedings*, carried on in our *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*; If they deſire that Tythes may be levied upon them, in the leaſt oppreſſive Courſe, and by the moſt Summary Proceſs; Theſe *Deſires* are the noble Suſpirations of the *Spirit of Liberty*, which hates Oppreſſion in any, and in every Shape, and is always willing to *Free*, not only *one Man*, or *one Body* of Men, but *all Men* from it. The *Quakers* in their Deſires thus far, have deſired nothing but what is Fair, Honeſt and Reaſonable; and therefore ought to be gratified in them. And it were to be wiſhed, that not only They, but that all *Engliſhmen* would ſhew in a proper Manner, the ſame *Honeſt* and *Reaſonable* Deſires, to be relieved from the great Expenſiveneſs of *Law-Suits*; not only in the one Inſtance of *Tythe*, but in all *Proceedings at Law*: Which, I am apt to think, are as Oppreſſive to the *People of England* in general, as Suits for Tythes, have been to the *Quakers*.

THESE

THESE certainly took the only proper Step to gain *Relief*, which was applying to the *Wiſdom of Parliament*; and for this, they deſerve not to be blamed, but applauded; and are ſo, by every *Honeſt Engliſhman*. They made Application for the *Redreſs* of a great and a real *Grievance*, to thoſe whoſe firſt and great Duty it is, to *Redreſs the Grievances* of the *People of England*, whom they Repreſent. And who, it is humbly hoped, as the *Repreſentatives* of the *Whole People* of England, will never confine ſuch *Redreſs* to *one Sort* of People only, nor to *one Inſtance* of Oppreſſion alone; but will take Care to extend it to the *whole People* in general, and to *every Caſe*, where the Expenſiveneſs of *Courts of Juſtice*, and the Protractions of *Law-Suits* depending in Them, render the *Grievance* equally great, and conſequently, the *Relief* equally neceſſary, juſt and reaſonable!

NOR do I think the *Quakers* are juſtly blameable, for the Method of Redreſs projected, and endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed in their Favour; which was, The Deciſion by *Two Juſtices* of the Peace, with Liberty of Appeal to *Quarter-Seſſions*, for a final Determination: Altho' it is preſumed, that no Man who conſiders ſuch kind of Determinations, with a juſt Regard to our *Antient and Happy Conſtitution*, and to *Publick Liberty*, can approve of them. I ſay, the *Quakers* are not juſtly blameable on that Account, becauſe it is a Method of Juſtice, of *late Years* brought into great Uſe in this Kingdom; and perhaps, had they petitioned for another Method, they would not have had the like Probability of Succeſs. But then, I think, that when this *Method of Deciſion* was objected to, on ſo good Grounds, as its plain Inconſiſtency with our *Conſtitution* and *Liberties*; a due Regard to the *Sacredneſs* of theſe common and moſt valuable Bleſſings, in which *Quakers* themſelves have as great a Share, and are as much intereſted to preſerve them as any People in England; I ſay, when this was with ſo *good Reaſon* objected, it ought at leaſt to have had Force enough over them, to have made them treat their *Opponents* with *Civility*, and their *Arguments* with *Decency*: And the Reverſe of this being done, it ſhews, if not the Weakneſs of their *Cauſe*, yet the extreme Weakneſs and Folly too, of their *Managers*; and affords but a melancholy Proſpect to a *True Lover* of his Country and of Liberty!

BUT what do I ſay? I am unwilling to think that the *Body of the Quakers*, whom I have ever looked upon as an Honeſt, Prudent and Induſtrious *Set of Men*; were ever concerned in, or did countenance, or have approved, that Scandalous, Piqueful and Malicious Ribaldry and Opprobrious Language, which

their Advocate, the *Writer* of the *Anſwer to the Country Parſon's Plea* hath diſgorged on this Occaſion: And which I am going to take Notice of, not as undertaking the Defence of the *Plea*, nor out of reſpect to any Solidity I ſee in the *Anſwerer's* Arguments; but out of a juſt and hearty Concern for the Preſervation of that mutual Love, Peaceableneſs of Temper, and Union, among all *Sects* and *Parties* in this Nation, whereon the Peace and Proſperity of my Country depend; and which I am heartily grieved to ſee a Man of his *Spirit*, aiming to break, and to revive our old Animoſities and Quarrels in their Stead! For,

WHAT elſe can this Writer aim at, but to excite Animoſities and Piques between *Churchmen* and *Quakers*, by ſuch Expreſſions as Theſe?——(Page 33.) *To indulge a litigious and inſatiably covetous Temper, the Parſon will ſue for Tythe, not where he may eaſily recover it, but where he can with greater Advantage at once* Recover *and* Oppreſs.——(Pa. 36.) *The Parſon covets a Protracted Suit in an Expenſive Court, which may not only recover his Tythe, but gratify his Revenge.*——(Pa. 41.) *Were they to give him* (the Parſon) *nine Tenths of their Subſtance, it would not ſatisfy the Ravenous Spirit of ſome Clergymen, ſo long as the* Farmers *retain One Part in* Ten *for themſelves. This, not ſeverely ſpoken.*——(Pa. 49.) Speaking of Perjury; *Ought any Man to be convicted of ſuch a Crime on ſlight Appearances? from a* Covetous Parſon's *Suſpicion, or from a Diſappointed Parſon's Reſentment?* He that is not tired with ſuch an ungrateful Taſk, may find a great many of the like *Venomous* and *Inflaming* Modes of Speech throughout this Libel, reflecting indiſcriminately on the whole Body of the *Clergy:* But I ſhall here make an End with one, towards the Concluſion, which is very proper to bring up the Rear, and to crown all the reſt, *viz.* (pa. 83.) *The utmoſt Force of Imagination cannot paint an* HELL *more terrible to our Fears, than what the Cruelty of the Clergy daily ſets before our Eyes.*——Such venomous and inflaming Speeches, which are juſt nothing at all to the Matter in Diſpute, and are ſpued out, without the leaſt Neceſſity, unleſs to eaſe a *filthy Stomach*; tend to the *Ill End*, of raiſing and fomenting Ill Blood, between *Churchmen* and *Quakers*. For no Sort of Men can, the *Quakers* themſelves would not, could not take it well, to have their *Teachers* ſet out in Colours, *Black* as HELL itſelf; and which tend to make *Diſſenters*, and all the World beſides, abhor the *Church of England*, as a Church whoſe *Paſtors* are little better than *Devils*.

AND

And what is the Cauſe for all this *Foul Language?* why; the *Clergy* have hitherto had Recourſe to ſuch Methods for the *Recovery* of their Tythes, as the Laws of their Country have preſcribed to them; and agreeably with the Duty of *Engliſhmen*, they have oppoſed in a proper Manner, the projected Determination by *Juſtices of the Peace*. Which Method of Deciſion, this *Writer* in all his Great *Zeal* for it, has not, as I ſee, ſo much as attempted to reconcile with our *Antient Conſtitution*, or with *Engliſh Liberty*; but on the contrary, ſeems to think it a * *Rigorous Method*.

The *Power of Juſtices*, hath been for a long Time complained of, as a *Publick Grievance*, by the trueſt Friends of *Liberty*; and as ſuch, the *Encreaſe* of their Power, hath been almoſt conſtantly, with very good Reaſon oppoſed. Every one will acknowledge, that the *Power of Juſtices* is very much encreaſed, ſince the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*; and yet even *Bills in Parliament* were diſliked, and oppoſed, ſo long ago, for no other Reaſon, but the Addition they would give to the *Power of the Juſtices of the Peace:* Which was then look'd upon as an Infringement of MAGNA CHARTA, becauſe a Trial by *Juſtices of the Peace*, is not a Trial *per Pares*.

It is but a few Years ſince, that many *Juſtices of Peace*, inſtead of being, † *all the Gentlemen of England*;——*The Gentlemen of the County*; ——*The Landed Gentlemen of this Kingdom, who of all others are moſt intereſted in the Publick Happineſs*, as this *Writer* ſeems extremely fond of calling them, were Men, (for one can hardly call ſuch *Gentlemen)* of ſuch *ſmall Eſtates* and *low Reputation*, that the Wiſdom of Parliament thought fit to interpoſe, and make a Law, whereby an Eſtate of *One Hundred Pounds a Year in Land*, is required to qualify a Perſon to be a *Juſtice of the Peace*; which was a neceſſary Precaution to raiſe the *Commiſſion* above Contempt, and to keep it from being a Diſgrace to a *True Engliſh Gentleman* of Honour, Family and Eſtate, to ſit on the *Bench* in ſuch Company.——This Qualification is, with great Reaſon, generally looked upon as a *very low* One: I one Day heard a *Gentleman of the Law*, wittily remark, that our Laws require as good a Qualification for a Man to *Keep a Dog*, as to be *a Juſtice*. And I remember, a Writer in the ** *Country Journal*, a little after this Act paſſed, obſerved very juſtly, that *One Hundred Pounds a Year*, is but a *poor Eſtate* to live upon, as *ſuch a Magiſtrate* ought to live.

This

* *Anſwer to the Country Parſon's Plea*, Page 23. † Ibid. Pa. 38, 39, 41, &c. ** *Aug.* 5, 1732.

THIS Writer tells us, that this *Truſt* was formerly diſcharged by *Conſervators of the Peace*, who were elected, by the *Body of the People*, as Members of Parliament and Coroners are now; which Privilege We have loſt, and They *Act* at preſent under a *Commiſſion from the Crown*, which is revocable at Pleaſure. "This Change (ſays he) hath been "attended with very bad Conſequences in *former Reigns*, by "giving the *Prince*, or his *Miniſters*, an Opportunity of "filling the Commiſſion with Perſons, whoſe Neceſſities or "Corruption render them ſubſervient to any Purpoſes, and "of ſtriking out Thoſe, who are actuated by higher Mo"tives, and ſcorn to Proſtitute their Office, or Sacrifice "their Country to the Views of a Court."——The ſame *Judicious Writer* alſo complains of their *Exceſſive Power* in the ſame Paper.

"THE Authority of our *Juſtices* at preſent, (ſays he) is "not only *Luxuriant*, (which was a Term of Complaint uſed in *Queen Elizabeth*'s Time) "but even above Deſcrip"tion, by that vaſt Number of *Penal Laws* which our "*Debts* and *Taxes* have accumulated upon us, not to inſiſt "on *ſome* others, in which our *Liberties*, as well as our *Pro*"*perties*, are more eſſentially concerned."

I NOW beg Leave to aſk, if this *Deciſion by Juſtices*, is agreeable with our *Antient Conſtitution*, and with *Engliſh Liberty?*——If a modeſt Apprehenſion that the Determination by *Juſtices*, in their Quarter-Seſſions, may be *Arbitrary*, is either Unreaſonable or * *Unjuſt?*——If thoſe who have oppoſed it, do deſerve the *Hard Names*, and the *Reproachful Language*, that have been given them?——And laſtly, If conſidering the *ſmall Eſtate* which Qualifies a *Juſtice*, and their *Abſolute Dependance* on the Crown for their Commiſſions; it be either *Generous*, or *Fair*, or *Juſt*, in the Author of the *Anſwer* to the *Plea*, to endeavour to enflame the *Gentlemen of England*, againſt the *Clergy*, for oppoſing the *Determination by Juſtices?* † Since it appears, They are ſo far from being a *Standing Set* of Men, as this *Writer* repreſents them, (Page 30.) that no *Gentleman* who is a *Juſtice* To-day, is ſure but he may be turned out of the Commiſſion To-morrow.

BUT it may be, this *Humane*, this *Polite*, this *Meek*, this *Charitable* ** Gentleman thinks, there is a ſtrong and unanſwerable Force of Argument, in what he charges on the *Clergy*, (Page 25.) *That this is a Method of Juſtice, incited, purſued and eſtabliſhed by themſelves, to puniſh* Quakers, *and other*

* *Anſwer*, Page 29. † Pa. 38, 39, 40, 41. ** Pa. 41.

other Proteſtant Diſſenters, for the Worſhip of GOD *in their own Way:* To which I briefly anſwer, That even admitting the *Truth* of this Aſſertion, which I do not pretend to be a competent Judge of; yet, it ought to be conſidered, in the *firſt Place*, that the Reign of *Charles* II. in which the greateſt Part of theſe *Acts* paſſed, was a Time in which it was the Policy of the *Court* to manage *Parties* one againſt another, to the abandoning the *common Intereſt*; and if the *Clergy* were ſo managed, I only beg our *Engliſh Diſſenters* in general, to conſider ſoberly, if there have not been *certain other Bodies of Men*, who ſince that Time, have been as much under the ſame *Management*, as the *Clergy* ever were; and if it be not high Time, for all who love *True Religion*, or *True Liberty*, to bid Adieu to that ſhameful Influence, to adhere to our *Conſtitution*, before a *Court*, and to chuſe to ſee with their own Eyes, before with thoſe of others, whoſe Intereſt it is to Deceive!——*Secondly*, It was a Time when the Ruin of both *Church* and *State*, by the Diſſenters, was freſh in every Body's Memory, and the Wounds and Jealouſies it occaſioned, far from being thoroughly Healed; and Fear of Relapſing into the Old Diſorders, made many Honeſt, Well-meaning *Churchmen*, concur in, nay, perhaps promote Meaſures, which were hardly juſtifiable in themſelves, and which they would have been far from approving, had it not been for This!——But 3*dly*, Let the *Clergy* have gone never ſo large Steps towards giving up their *Country's Liberty*; This can never juſtify *other Men* in farther giving up the ſame *Liberty*, in order to be revenged of them, and whip them with their own Rod; No *Juſt* or *Prudent* Man, no *Lover of his Country*, will conſent to ſuch a Step of *Folly* and *Madneſs*. Much leſs ought this Argument to have the leaſt Weight with *a Member of the Houſe of Commons*, as the *Title-Page* of this *Piece* tells us this *Writer* is; becauſe, if *Members of Parliament* ſhould once take it into their Heads, to follow the pernicious Maxim, of excluding *Engliſhmen* from the Benefit of our *Conſtitution* and *Liberties*, becauſe their Predeceſſors of above *Half a Century* ago, had been for excluding others; Then, We might all quickly have Occaſion to cry out, *Actum eſt de Roma, There is an End of our Country!* and lament to each other the Loſs of our *common Liberty*, without any Proſpect of being ever able to call ourſelves FREE MEN again!

AMONG other Overflowings of this *Honourable Gentleman's* Valour, on this Occaſion; the *Odious Colours* in which he hath been pleaſed to paint out *Tythes in general* to us,

deſerve

deſerve particular Notice. For, when he ſays, * " In ge-
" neral it may be ſaid with *Truth*, there never was an Impo-
" ſition on Mankind *more fruitful of Law-Suits*, than the
" Claim of Tythe, which never knows a certain Value :

" NOR, was there ever an Impoſition more grievous and
" oppreſſive than the Claim of Tythe, which takes a Tenth
" from the Produce of the Poor Man's Labour, who ma-
" nures the Land, who employs his own Stock to raiſe the
" Tythe, and ſurrenders the Choice of his Harveſt to the
" Prieſt, who neither Ploughs nor Sows.

" Is it then unreaſonable to complain of this *Tythe* of the
" Clergy, as the Eaſt-Wind that withers the Fruit, the
" Caterpillar that deſtroys the Harveſt in the Ear, the Lo-
" cuſt that preys upon the Property of the Rich, and eats
" up the Bread of the Poor? An Harpy that carries Law-
" Suits in one Claw, and Famine in another? that devours
" what the Publick Taxes ſpare, and is more inexorable than
" an Exciſe?

" THIS prodigious Uſurpation on the Property of Man-
" kind!"

THESE *Hard Names* are for the moſt part, as applicable to *Tythes*, under the *Moſaic Law*, where they were commanded to be payed by GOD Himſelf; as to *Tythes* in the *Chriſtian* Church. An *Infidel Jew* might with as good a Grace, with as much Propriety and Juſtice, have called *Tythe*; The *Eaſt-Wind that withers the Fruit*, *the Caterpillar that deſtroys the Harveſt in the Ear*, *the Locuſt that preys upon the Property of the Rich*, *and eats up the Bread of the Poor*; *an Harpy that carries Famine in its Claw*; *that devours what the Publick Taxes ſpare*, *and is more inexorable than an Exciſe*; as this Writer does now. And yet, theſe *Tythes* were inſtituted by an All-Juſt, All-Wiſe and All-Mighty GOD, who promiſed his *Bleſſings* on thoſe who ſhould pay them, and denounced *Curſes* againſt thoſe who ſhould wrong the *Prieſts* of them.——I am perſuaded, there is hardly one among the *whole Body* of the *Quakers* themſelves, but has too great a Reſpect for any Thing of *Divine Appointment*, to give ſo general and unlimited an *Opprobrious* Character, even of *Tythes*, as much as they think it inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian Religion to pay 'em!

WHEN the late Glorious Law for the *Regulation of* JURIES was made, every truly *Engliſh Heart* rejoiced to ſee that moſt Excellent and moſt Eſſential Part of our *Antient Conſtitution* and *Liberties* reſtored to us! Both *Miniſters* and

* *Anſwer*, Pa. 54, 55, 56.

and *Anti-Miniſterialiſts*, concurr'd *within Doors*, and ſeemed to vye with each other, who ſhould moſt promote ſo Glorious a Work. So did, both, *Miniſterial* and *Anti-Miniſterial* Writers *without Doors*, publiſh *each* their Gratulations throughout the Kingdom; *each* ſeemed to envy their Adverſaries the Glory of effecting ſo good a Work: *Each Party* were ready to claim the ſole Praiſe to their own *Patrons!* Among others, a *Court-Writer*, the Author of the *Free-Briton*, entertained the Publick with the following *High Encomium*, but no more than *Juſt Character*, of this moſt *Antient Inſtitution*.

" Of all the Prerogatives, worthy of an *Engliſhman*'s " Care, and eſſential to our National Security; that *Me-* " *thod of Tryal*, ſo ſacred to the Britiſh Conſtitution, is " the Firſt and Greateſt Bleſſing. There are none more " blended with the very Being of our Conſtitution; for " from the Earlieſt Accounts of Time, the moſt Antient " Annals of our Iſland, This hath been our Conſtant, In- " variable Method in the Judicial Deciſions of the King- " dom. No Man could loſe his *Fame*, his *Life* or *Liberty*; " no Man could ſuffer any Puniſhment, *Corporal* or *Pecu-* " *niary*; but by the Judgment of his Country, the Ver- " dict of his *Peers*, or his *Equals*; Men returned from " the Vicinage, the Neighbourhood where the Fact con- " teſted ſhould be laid; and therefore Men, who, being in " his own Condition of Life, as well as Reſident on the " Spot, muſt certainly judge, as they would be judged " themſelves, muſt allow him all the Candour and Equity " his Caſe could poſſibly admit.

" Such hath been the High Senſe we have continually " entertained of this moſt Antient Inſtitution; ſuch hath " been our Zealous Affection for this *Unalienable Eſtabliſh-* " *ment*, that, through a Courſe of many Ages, it hath " been preſerved, and never once aboliſhed. However our " *other Liberties* have ſunk, or been ſuſpended, This hath " been reſcued from the moſt Rapacious Tyranny, nor " ever at any Time invaded, but the WHOLE CON- " STITUTION was ſtruck at in this *Single Inſtance of* " *Freedom.*

" So great and wonderful hath been the Advantage, we " perpetually reap't from *Theſe Tryals*, that whilſt they " were ſuffered to be *Free*, no Man amongſt us was un- " ſafe, let him be never ſo obnoxious to *Courts*, let him be

" ever ſo brave for the Intereſt of his *Country*. The moſt " Arbitrary Governors who have Adminiſtred Power in " this Kingdom, have found them the greateſt Obſtruc- " tion to their wicked Deſigns, and a conſtant Deliverance " to Innocence under Oppreſſion. Hence, various At- " tempts upon JURIES, to *Pack*, to *Bribe*, to *Awe* " them, or to make them *Uſeleſs*. SHERIFFS have been " employed to Return *fit Tools* and *Inſtruments*. JUDGES " have been inſtructed to Brow-beat and intimidate the *Ho-* " *neſt* and *Uncorrupt*; whilſt at other Times, by *Magick* " and *Legerdemain*, they have juggled them out of their " *Verdicts*.

" THERE never was a better Sign of an *Happy People*, " never a more certain Proof of an *Upright Adminiſtra-* " *tion*, than the late Attempt to preſerve our JURIES " from every ill Influence. I mean, *the Immortal Law* " *for their Better Regulation*; An Act that might have " added Glory to the Beſt Legiſlators of Antiquity, and " which cannot yield to the Wiſeſt of their Inſtitutions for " its Equity and excellent Worth."

IF this Panegyrick be *Juſt*, as I believe there are few but think it is; I would beg Leave to aſk, why Thoſe who profeſs themſelves *Lovers* of *Britiſh Liberty*, do not prefer *Tryals by* JURIES, which are the very Badge of that Liberty, before *Tryals by* JUSTICES?

IT may be ſaid, perhaps, that in the Caſe of *Tythe*, the Power of *Juſtices* was not to extend to the Value of more than, ſuppoſe *(Ten Pounds)* But then, when we conſider that the greateſt Part of *Tythes*, are under that Value; it would unqueſtionably have thrown a very great *Additional* Weight of Power into the Hands of the *Juſtices*; whoſe Determinations would conſequently have affected *Tythes* in general. And I wiſh to be ſhewn, why a *Wiſe Legiſlature*, tenderly careful of the *Britiſh Conſtitution*, and of *Britiſh Liberty*, could not make *Tryals by* JURIES, in the Country, a Method of Law, as *Speedy*, as *Summary*, and as *little Oppreſſive*, as *Tryals by* JUSTICES are?

HAD the Choice of *Juſtices*, continued in the *People of England*, as it formerly was; I preſume, that even then, this Method of Law, would not have been comparable to *Tryals by Juries*: As it would not have been Tryal *by our Peers*, it would have been much more *Imperfect*, much more liable to *Influence*, *Hardſhip*, and *Injuſtice*. But as *Juſtices* are

are now, the *Creatures of the Crown*, Put in, and Turned out, at the Pleasure of a *Minister*; as They may, notwithstanding the *Qualification Act*, be Men but of *Small Fortune*; and as They have no *Dependance* at all, on the *People*: On these Considerations, *Liberty* and *Property*, would be much more unsafe and precarious, not only to the *Clergy*, but to the *People* in general, and to the *Quakers* themselves.

Lastly, If the *Patriots* in *Queen Elizabeth*'s Time, were so alarmed at the growing Power of *Justices*, on account of the *Additional* Authority, that the Law against *Common Swearing*, only, which was infinitely less than This, put into their Hands; How much more Cautious ought *Those* of our Time to be, of *adding* still to their *Jurisdiction*, which hath been so mightily encreased since. For 'tis very plain, that was their *Authority* to be as much encreased for a *Century to come*, as it has been for a *Century past*; The *Modern Institution*, *of* JUSTICES DEPENDENT ON THE CROWN, would little less than devour the most *Antient*, *Free*, *and Unalienable Establishment of* JURIES; which hath stood the Test of so many Ages, and always been preserved when our *other Liberties* have sunk. By this means, we should be led imperceptibly and by Degrees, to give up *This*, as we have already done *other Parts* of our Constitution; for I cannot see, why, had this *Bill* passed, it would not have been almost as great a Step towards a *General Decision*, by JUSTICES; as a former Proposal to make some Alterations in the Method of Collecting the *Duties on Wine and Tobacco*, would have been towards a *General Excise*.

I am indeed, an unworthy Member of the *Church of England*, and do hope through GOD's Grace, to continue in Her Communion to the End of my Life: But had I been an *English Protestant Dissenter* of any Perswasion, I think, that *Love of my Country*, and of the *Protestant Religion*, would, and ought to have, made me say, all that I have now done, to dissuade my Countrymen of all Denominations, from *Party*, *Faction*, and *Religious Animosities*. The Chief Thing which we have had in View throughout these Papers, hath been, The *Preservation of our Constitution*. This is the only Thing which it is worth an *Englishman*'s while to be anxious for, or to contend about; because, so long as This is Safe, *All is Safe*; but when our *Constitu-*

tution is either suppreſſed by *Violence*, or, which is worſe, enervated by *Corruption* ; *Our All* is loſt.

OUR CONSTITUTION ought therefore to be the *One Center*, of our *Common Deſires*, as Engliſhmen : " *To* " *make our* Antient Conſtitution, *the only Rule of his Ac-* " *tions : To endeavour to Reſtore it to it's* Natural Purity ; " *and to* Improve *and* Perfect *it, by all Juſt, Reaſonable* " *and Prudent Means* ;" is the firſt and great Maxim, that ought to make the Baſis of the Conduct of a *Britiſh Patriot*. I hope, the Tendency of all we have ſaid, is reducible to this *Single Point* ; and is calculated only to put our Readers in Mind of this *Maxim*, and to perſuade them to adhere to it. 'Tis true indeed, we may not ; and a Senſe of my own *Failings* makes me afraid, This Deſign is far from being *Well-executed !* I am ſenſible of many *Faults*, which I don't know how to mend ; which I beg the Courteous Reader to excuſe ! And if they are ſuch, as he ſhall think deſerve to be ſet right in a *Publick Way*, ſhall thankfully acknowledge his Favour.

WE can conclude no better than with a few Diſcerptions from that truly Pious and Learned, Dr. HENRY MORE's *Expoſtulation with the Sectaries* ; publiſhed in the Beginning of the Reign of *Charles* II. Which, as it came from, A Friend of *Liberty*, A Strenuous Defender of the *Proteſtant Religion*, An Advocate for *Toleration* in a Time of *Perſecution* ; ; and from a Divine of the Church of *England*, who had a Soul ſuperior to thoſe *Preferments*, with the *Love* of which, *Some* have ſince ſhewn themſelves ſo ſcandalouſly corrupted ; We preſume to hope, will not be unacceptable to our Honeſt Readers.

* " *Beloved, Believe not every Spirit ; but try the Spi-* " *rits whether they are of* G O D, *becauſe many falſe Pro-* " *phets are gone out into the World. Hereby ye ſhall know* " *the Spirit of* G O D, 1 John, iv. 1. As at the Firſt " Coming of Chriſt, every Spirit that confeſſed that *Jeſus* " was the Chriſt come in the Fleſh was of G O D, and eve- " ry Spirit that confeſſed not that *Jeſus* was the Chriſt come " in the Fleſh was not of G O D ; but was the Spirit of " Anti-Chriſt : So I ſay now concerning the Second Co- " ming of Chriſt, that every Spirit that confeſſes that " Chriſt is thus come in the Proteſtant Reformers to judge " Anti-

* See Dr. *H. More's* Apology, ch. x. Modeſt Enquiry into the Myſtery of Iniquity, pa. 561.

" Anti-Chriſt, and to take the Kingdom to Himſelf, is of " GOD; but every Spirit that denies that Chriſt is thus " come, and either deſpiſeth and contemns the Reformers, " as if they were not the Witneſſes of the Truth, or flatly " contradicts them, and reproaches them, that Spirit is not " of GOD, but in ſome ſhrewd Senſe or other is the *Spi-* " *rit of Antichriſt.*

" But you will reply, 'tis impoſſible that we ſhould be " obnoxious to the *Spirit of Anti-Chriſt*, who profeſs our- " ſelves as Hot as any againſt Him, even againſt that noto- " rious Anti-Chriſt of *Rome.* But I demand of you, how " are you ſure but that you are rid and guided, and gulled, " and deluded by the Emiſſary Spirits of that very *Anti-* " *Chriſt* you pretend to oppoſe? That your Heat againſt " the Church of *England* is not the furious Impreſs of their " wicked Activity for their great Maſter of the Seven Hills? " For your enormous Contumacy and Schiſmaticalneſs is " hugely for his Intereſt, and as manifeſtly againſt the Inte- " reſt of the Kingdom of Chriſt.

" It were therefore very well worth the while to enquire " who was the firſt Perſwader and Promoter of ſo frantick " a Piece of Inhumanity, and to ſee if it be not ſome *Je-* " *ſuitical* Dog-trick put upon you, ſome witty *Italian* Re- " venge for the Proteſtants making the Unreformed Empire " the *Beaſt.*

" Wherefore conſider well with yourſelves, O ye " Miſtaken and Unwiſe, and yet who pretend to be ſo pe- " culiarly guided by the Spirit of GOD, when as notwith- " ſtanding it is ſo exceeding probable that you are rid and " actuated by the Frauds and Deceits of cunning Foreigners " that inſinuate themſelves into your Societies, and ſpeak " in your Meetings, and can out-cant you in your Speak- " ings, that help to bewilder you in this Night of Dreams " you wander in, and, getting the Word, make them- " ſelves of the ſame Party with you, and, having more " Activity and Wit, become your Commanders, and force " you to fight the Battles of Anti-Chriſt, and lead you in " a moſt deſperate Defiance againſt the True Church of " Chriſt; making you bitter Enemies againſt the late Hap- " py Reformation, tho' there be ſo marvellous a Teſtimo- " ny ſet thereunto even by the very Finger of GOD. " And certainly if you be under the Conduct of ſuch a " Spirit as This, is it not manifeſt that you are led by the " very Spirit of Anti-Chriſt, and that your whole Diſ-

" penſation,

" penſation, ſo far forth as it is diſtinguiſhed from the An-
" tien Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith, is mere Gullery
" and Dream?

" YOU that pretend to be in ſo ſpecial a Manner inſpired,
" as if your Breaſts were the only Temples of the Holy
" Ghoſt, is not the Fruit of the Spirit *Love*, even accord-
" ing to your own boaſtful Conceſſions, as well as accord-
" ing to Truth? And is not *Love* the Mother of *Peace*
" and *Union*, the very Bond of *Perfection?* Are not the
" Works of the Fleſh, Wrath, Strife, Sedition and Di-
" viſion? How carnal then and accurſed a Thing muſt
" *Schiſm* be, the worſt of Diviſions, and how contrary to
" the Spirit of GOD?

" WHEREFORE in the Fear of GOD, and out of a
" due Senſe of your own Security and Intereſt, awake out
" of this Frantick Dream, and ſee the Danger you are in
" and naturally bring others into by theſe Needleſs and Un-
" chriſtian Schiſms, and conſider that as much as in you
" lies, you lay the Grounds and Trains of a Victory for
" Him who, unleſs you be Diſſemblers, you cordially op-
" poſe, and who, if ever He overcome, will raiſe his
" Trophies, if you be not Diſſemblers, but real Oppoſers
" of Him, upon your Ruin, and celebrate his Triumph
" with Bonfires that ſhall conſume your Bones and Fleſh
" into Aſhes, that is, burn you with Fire and Faggot for
" Hereticks, becauſe you will not be Idolaters and worſhip
" the Golden Image that the *King of Babylon* has ſet up;
" that is, ſubmit to that Pompous Idolatry that the *Pope of*
" *Rome* has appointed inſtead of the Pure and Legitimate
" Worſhip of the Living GOD.

" ROUSE up yourſelves, Rub your Eyes and look about
" you, all ye Sectaries of Reformed Chriſtendom, and con-
" ſider into what Danger you bring yourſelves and the
" whole Reformation, by mouldring it into ſuch little Pie-
" ces and Parcels: But if you be ſo Fool-hardy that the
" Peril of the Body does not move you, conſider further,
" that the Betraying the Church to Ruin and Perſecution is
" a Sin of the Higheſt Dye againſt your own Souls, thus to
" prefer the Proſecution of your own Humours before the
" Peace and Security of the whole Reformation.

" WHEREFORE in the Fear of GOD, as I ſaid be-
" fore, and in a Timely Senſe of your own Security, the
" Security of your Prince and Nation, and, of which you
" pretend to be ſo zealous, for the Proteſtant Reforma-
" tion

" tion and Propagation of the Goſpel; ceaſe from ſo ap-
" parent Folly, return to a ſober Mind, ſubmit to your
" Superiors in Things that be indifferent, compromiſe with
" them in Matters really Diſputable; that even thoſe that
" are without, ſeeing the due Liberty, the decent Order,
" the Peaceableneſs of Reformed Chriſtendom, may be the
" more eaſily induced to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke, and
" join themſelves to the True Kingdom of Chriſt, and be
" no longer obedient to the Inſtitutes of that *Man of Sin.*".

F I N I S.